

God Himself and not by the Prophet.

- b. To say that there is a different style in the Qur'an, which means that this was written by the Companions themselves is a ridiculous matter, it is clear that this is according to the nature and subjects of the Meccan and Medinan verses.
- c. To say that there is a kind of confusion regarding who is the first to combine the Qur'an, we answer that the sound account concerning this matter is the one which mentions Abu Bakr, as for other accounts which mention other names, they are inconclusive.
- d. The reason behind copying the Qur'an during

'Uthman's reign is the differences in the recitation of the Qur'an, this does not mean that the text was incomplete during the combination of Abu Bakr.

- e. Absolutely nothing of the Qur'an was lost as some accounts may indicate, the answer for not finding some recited verses is the matter of abrogation, that they are invalid. However, it was witnessed by most of the Companions.
6. Finally, we conclude that most orientalists do not pay the anticipated attention to the Muslim Traditionalists' rules regarding the account chain, most of their criticisms oppose these rules. In fact, by following these rules we can build a better understanding between Scholars.

وسلم، وقد اعتمد هؤلاء على مجموعة من الأدلة أهمها أن هناك روايات تصرح بعدم كتابة شيء من القرآن في حياة النبي، وأن عمر بن الخطاب خاف ضياع شيء من القرآن مع ازدياد موت القراء، فلم الخوف إن كان القرآن مكتوباً؟ وأن ترتيب القرآن هو من عمل الصحابة لا من عمل الرسول، بمعنى أنه لا يوجد مستند للترتيب فلا يوجد نص مكتوب أصلاً. وقد تبين بعد الدراسة أنه لا توجد أية رواية تدعم ما زعموا، وأما خوف عمر فكان حرصاً على سلامة النص، وأما الترتيب فكان بإجماع الصحابة ولم يعارضه أحد، الأمر الذي يجعلنا نجزم بكونه توقيفياً، وكل ذلك يدعم كون القرآن مكتوباً زمن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

آراء آرثر جيفري في جمع القرآن الكريم (دراسة نقدية)

محمد خازن المجالي، وأحمد خالد شكري*

ملخص

تناقش هذه الدراسة آراء المستشرق آرثر جيفري وغيره من المستشرقين حول كتابة النص القرآني زمن النبي صلى الله عليه

* أستاذ مساعد، وأستاذ مساعد، قسم أصول الدين، كلية الشريعة، الجامعة الأردنية. تاريخ استلام البحث ١٩٩٦/١١/١١، وتاريخ قبوله ١٩٩٧/٣/٣٠.

recitations which were recited by the Prophet himself according to the Seven Ahruf by which the Qur'an was revealed.

Also, the accounts which describe the copying of the Qur'an during 'Uthman's reign all agreed that this writing was definitely and completely in conformity with the text combined by Zayd -during Abu Bakr's reign- which remained with Abu Bakr till he died, with 'Umar till he died, then with Hafsa, 'Umar's daughter⁽⁶¹⁾. The accounts say that when Hudhayfah consulted 'Uthman to end the differences between Muslims in reciting the Qur'an, 'Uthman asked Hafsa to send him the text which was left with her, after that they copied it and send copies to the main cities⁽⁶²⁾.

5. Finally, the accusation by Prof. Burton and Dr. Bell that the combination during Abu Bakr's rule was not complete, because of what Zayd has said that some pieces were not found but with some Companions, or because what some Companions have said that they did not find certain verses recited by the Prophet but were not recorded in the Mushaf. We can answer the first point with what Scholars have commented that this does not mean that the verses were not known to Zayd, in fact he and others had known them and memorized them, but what he undoubtedly meant that he did not find them written with anyone but with Abu Khuzaymah⁽⁶³⁾. As far as the second point is concerned, we can give one example of such verses, which is known as the stoning verse which 'Umar had inquired about⁽⁶⁴⁾, they did not write it because it is known by the Prophet that it is abrogated. Other examples may have the same answer.

CONCLUSIONS

Having completed our discussion of the most important points concerning what Dr. Jeffery and other orientalists have said about the authenticity of the text

of the Qur'an, we can now formulate our conclusions:

1. Some orientalists such as Jeffery, Noldeke, Schwally, Burton, Bell and Watt have their own opinions regarding the authenticity of the text of the Qur'an, that they are in doubt about it.
2. After searching in most books of Tradition we did not find any account to indicate that after the Prophet's death the Qur'an was not written on anything, which is Dr. Jeffery's opinion. Rather, we found that they support the Muslim Scholars opinion that it was written in whole during the Prophet's life. The only account we found, however, in different words than that Dr. Jeffery's claims, this account mentions the word (combined) and not (written) as he mentioned.
3. Dr. Jeffery depends on what 'Umar had said to Abu Bakr during the battle of Yamamah, that he suggested to combine the Qur'an, where otherwise he was afraid that by the continued slaying of the Recitists in other places some of the Qur'an may be lost, thus, if it is really written then there will be no need for this fear. We gave many answers to this point, that the accounts themselves confirm the writing of the Qur'an, also Muslim Scholars have contributed by presenting their answers, we can say that they all agree with the fact that all of what 'Umar had meant was to reserve the text and authenticate it before those who had memorized it were killed, they are the witnesses of the text and some of the text may have been kept with some of them.
4. Dr. Jeffery mentioned another point concerning the arrangement of the suras of the Qur'an and the differences in the Companions' copies of the Qur'an, that they confirm the writelessness of the text. Our answer is that all the accounts are obvious in declaring the writing of the text before the Prophet, also the Companions' copies are personal ones and not official. Also, there is no account that mentions any kind of confusion or objection between the Companions regarding the arrangement of the text, this means that there is a reference to refer to, it is the written one.
5. As for the other accusations of other orientalists:
 - a. Noldeke's translation of the word (nunsuha) in verse 2/106 to mean that the Prophet may forget some of the revelation, the exact translation of this word is (cause to be forgotten), which means that this will be by

(61) See footnote No. 17.

(62) See al-Bukhari, al-Sahih, with Fath al-Bari, 9/11, the account No. 4987; al-Itqan, 1/77-8; al-Zurqani, Manahil al-'Irfan, 1/249-50.

(63) For more details see al-Burhan fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an, 1/1234; Fath al-Bari, 9/15; al-Itqan, 1/77-8; Manahil al-'Irfan, 1/245.

(64) See al-Itqan, 1/78.

recitation means (to delay it), and by any of these recitations we are quite sure of the completeness of the Qur'an⁽⁵⁴⁾.

2. As for the second one by Noldeke, that there is a different style found in certain chapters of the Qur'an, to conclude that the Qur'an was not written during the Prophet's life but by the Companions, Noldeke gives some examples, that some chapters as *Yusuf*, *al-Kahf*, *al-Shu'ara'*, *al-Waqi'ah*, *al-Ma'arij* and *al-Mursalat* have a complete subject, but on the other hand we find some chapters as *al-Baqarah* and *al-Anfal* with different subjects and with different times of revelation, we can simply say that this is according to the nature of every chapter, that the Meccan ones mostly discuss matters of creed or narratives, this needs to concentrate on the subject itself. As for the Medinan ones, they mainly concentrate on jurisprudence of the Islamic rules, in fact they are so much, also each one needs to be discussed alone and in a different style from the other, this depends on the nature of the rule⁽⁵⁵⁾. On the other hand, many studies took place by certain Scholars regarding these chapters to show the objective unity of each one, especially *al-Baqarah*, the one mentioned by Noldeke, among those are Shaltut, Muhammad Qutub and Muhammad A. Draz⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Another answer we can mention here is that, how can we believe that all the Companions agreed upon this text if it really has such contradictions in its style!⁽⁵⁷⁾

3. As far as the third point is concerned, which is mentioned by Burton and Bell, that there are different accounts which describe who is the first to combine the Qur'an, which caused a matter of discrepancy in minds, we can give Dr. 'Abd al-Sabur Shahin's answer, he mentioned the other sayings that the first to combine the Qur'an was 'Ali, this is because of the account related by Ash'ath by Muhammad bin Sirin that 'Ali swore not to dress any clothes except for Friday till he combined the Qur'an in a Mushaf, he mentioned the answer of Abu Bakr al-Sijistani that none of the narrators mentioned the word (Mushaf) except Ash'ath, he is known as inconclusive in this field, other narrators related (till I combine the Qur'an), which means: to complete its memorization⁽⁵⁸⁾.

As for the other account that it is 'Umar who did it, the account says that 'Umar questioned about one verse of the Qur'an, then he was told that it was with someone who was killed in the Yamamah battle, accordingly, he ordered to combine the Qur'an, and therefore, he is the first to combine the Qur'an. Shahin gives three answers: The first that this contradicts the sound relation by al-Bukhari and this account is *munqati'*, which means that it is inconclusive; the third that we can give another interpretation to the words (he is the first to combine the Qur'an) to mean: he is the first to ask for combining it⁽⁵⁹⁾.

As for the other account which mentioned Salim Mawla Abi Hudhayfah, which is similar to the one mentioned above with 'Ali, he mentioned al-Suyuti's answer which says that this account is also *munqati'*⁽⁶⁰⁾, and again we can say that it may mean that Salim is among those who combined the Qur'an.

4. As regards to the fourth accusation by Dr. Bell that the Qur'an which was combined during Abu Bakr's rule was not an official text, this is because of the differences that occurred during 'Uthman's reign, which caused him to rewrite the Qur'an. We can answer that there are different reasons for the copying of the Qur'an during 'Uthman's reign, they mostly refer to the different dialects of Muslims and to the different

(54) For more details about this recitation see the references mentioned in the past footnote, also see al-Dani, Abu 'Amr 'Uthman bin Sa'id, *al-Taysir fi al-Qira'at al-Saba'*, p. 76, Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi, Beirut, 3rd ed., 1985, where he says that the second recitation is by Ibn Kathir and Abu 'Amr ibn al-'Ala'; Ibn al-Jazari, Muhammad bin Muhammad, *al-Nashr fi al-Qira'at al-'Ashr*, ed. by 'A. M. al-Dabba', 2/220, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, Beirut, s.d.; Ibn Zanjalah, Abu Zur'ah 'Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad, *Hujjat al-Qira'at*, ed. by Sa'id al-Afghani, p. 109-110. Mu'assasat al-Risalah, Beirut, 2nd ed., 1979.

(55) For more details see Qutb, Muhammad, *Dirasat Qur'aniyyah*, p. 21-4, Dar al-Shuruq, Beirut, 2nd ed., 1980.

(56) See Shaltut, Mahmud, *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Karim*, 1/51, Dar al-Shuruq, Beirut, 7th ed., 1979; Draz, Muhammad 'Abd Allah, *al-Naba' al-'Azim*, p. 163-4, Dar al-Qalam, Kuwait, s.d.; Qutb, Muhammad, *Dirasat Qur'aniyyah*, p. 277-310.

(57) For more details about this point see books of the Qur'anic sciences, especially Subhi al-Salih in his *Mabahith*, p. 164-233; Draz, Madkhal, p. 129-164.

(58) See Shahin, *Tarikh al-Qur'an*, 104-5.

(59) Op. Cit., p. 105. See also al-Itqan, 1/77.

(60) See al-Itqan, 1/77.

2. These copies of the Companions were not completed, rather they include some of its chapters, generally they differ from each other in this matter, may *Kitab al-Masahif* of Ibn Abu Dawud show this point clearly⁽⁴⁵⁾.
3. These Companions' copies were not in one volume, but in separate sheets and other materials, as those mentioned with the writing of the Qur'an, this means that it is impossible for these copies to be in exact arrangement, also they have the possibility to be changed in their arrangement.
4. None of these copies -of the Companions- exist today, that is because 'Uthman's order to all of them was to burn them, they agreed with him, even after hesitation, as Ibn Mas'ud did⁽⁴⁶⁾. This means that they are personal copies, thus, we are not concerned with their contents and arrangements.
5. There is no objection by any of the Companions regarding the arrangement of the chapters of the Qur'an. Even those who have copies with different arrangement from the official one, they did not object with these arrangements. Thus, if any of those Companions objected to these arrangements then it will be related to us, a matter which did not occur⁽⁴⁷⁾.
6. There are different accounts regarding the arrangement of the Companions' copies, this means that they are just personal copies⁽⁴⁸⁾.
7. Scholars have two opinions concerning the arrangement of the Qur'an -in its chapters:⁽⁴⁹⁾
 - a. That it was under the Prophet's supervision (*Tawqifi*)⁽⁵⁰⁾.
 - b. That it was the Companions' reasoning (*Ijtihadi*).

We can say that by adopting the first opinion, it is quite clear that no one can object to it, and if anyone says that the Companions' copies differ from it, we can answer with the six points mentioned above. Also, by adopting the second one,

we can say that it is quite obvious, because some Companions made some effort to arrange their copies, but when one of them heard about the arrangement by the Scholars, he was committed to it although his own sequence differed from it, and even if he held a special opinion towards this matter⁽⁵¹⁾.

In conclusion, we can say that the difference in the Companions' copies is genuine evidence that the Qur'an was written during the Prophet's life and that this text which was combined by Zayd is the official one.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Discussion of the Other Imputations

The main body of this research represents the discussion of Dr. Jeffery's accusations, and as a matter of fact that this controversy may assist in refusing the other accusations mentioned by other orientalists, therefore, we need to give a general debate to these accusations:

1. As regards to the first accusation of Noldeke, he demands that the Qur'an was not written in complete, because the verse: (None of Our revelations do We abrogate or cause to be forgotten, but We substitute something better or similar: Knowest thou not that God hath power over all things)⁽⁵²⁾, indicates that the Prophet may forget some of the revelations, he translated the verse to be (... or to be forgotten). Our answer is that we need to differentiate between the correct translation and Noldeke's one. It is quite clear that in the verse, God attributes this abrogation to Himself and not to the Prophet. Thus, by God's supervision we are quite sure that nothing will be forgotten⁽⁵³⁾. On the other hand, there is another recitation of this word, which is (*nansa'ha*) in addition to (*nunsiha*), this

(45) See p. 50-73. See also Draz, Madkhal, p. 37-8, where he discusses the reasons for these differences.

(46) For more details see Sahih al-Bukhari, Fath al-Bari, 9/1 and 9/20-1; Manahil al-Irfan, 1/253.

(47) See Fath al-Bari, 9/21; Manahil al-Irfan, 1/254.

(48) This is also clear from the books of al-Masahif, for example see Kitab al-Masahif, p. 50-73.

(49) See al-Itqan, 1/81-2; Manahil al-Irfan, 1/346-7.

(50) For example, see Subhi al-Salih, Mabahith, 71.

(51) For more details, see al-Burhan, 1/262; Subhi al-Salih, Mabahith, 71.

(52) Ali, 'Abd Allah Yusuf, The Holy Qur'an, Text, Translation and Commentary, p. 46, Amana Corp., Maryland, U.S.A., 1983. The verse is from surat al-Baqarah, No. 106.

(53) This is what exegetes have said regarding this verse, for example see al-Tabari, al-Tafsir, 1/379, Dar al-Ma'rifah, Beirut, 1987; Abu Hayyan, Muhammad bin Yusuf, Tafsir al-Bahr al-Muhit, 1/343-4, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, 2nd ed., 1983; al-'Alusi, Mahmud, Tafsir Ruh al-Ma'ani, 1/353, Dar Ihya' al-Turath al-'Arabi, Beirut, 4th ed., 1985.

here is Ibn Hajar's answer that he may have expected something of the text to be abrogated⁽³⁸⁾, we can also add that the Prophet himself did not know his time of death⁽³⁹⁾, we know that the last verses revealed to him were revealed before days from his death.

2. It seems that to depend only on the separated written text is not sufficient for reserving the whole text, because this separated text may be lost because of the killing or death of the Companions, also there is no guarantee that the inheritors will reserve it for one reason or another, thus this caused 'Umar to be worried about the Qur'an, and definitely this does not mean that the Qur'an was not written.
3. Also, it is not sufficient to depend only on memorizing the text without it being written, because there is also no guarantee that the recitalists who memorized the text will remain memorizing it, and therefore, to be confident concerning the text they combined it as mentioned above.
4. Ibn Hajar commented that 'Umar's fear was because of what may be changed in the future if the Qur'an were not combined⁽⁴⁰⁾.
5. In addition to the fact that the written text was separated, its copies were limited, for the reason mentioned above that a little number of the Companions know writing. Thus, they seized the opportunity to collect these texts and compare them with what was memorized in hearts and minds, this was a very important step at that time. We found from the accounts that if the Companions were to delay in doing this task, then there would be a kind of fear about the combination of the Qur'an, that it is possible that neither Zayd nor others can do it herein after, with this accuracy and documentation.
6. It is important to know that reciting the written text accurately, one must know exactly how to

(38) See Fath al-Bari, 9/ 12.

(39) See also al-Zarkashi, Badr al-Din Muhammad bin 'Abd Allah, al-Burhan fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an, ed. by Muhammad Abu al-Fadl Ibrahim, 1/262, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, 3rd ed., 1980; al-Zurqani, Muhammad 'Abd al-'Azim, Manahil al-'Irfan fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an, 1/241-2, Dar Ihya' al-Turath al-'Arabi, Beirut, 3rd ed., s.d.; Subhi al-Salih, Mabahith, p. 73; al-Qattan, Manna', Mabahith fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an, p. 129-30, Mu'assasat al-Risalah, Beirut, 7th ed., 1980; Lamahat fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an, p. 68.

(40) See Fath al-Bari, 9/13-4.

pronounce the word, and this matter creates a problem if the men who memorize the Qur'an died, therefore they intended to combine it in order to assist in reciting it, in addition to reserve it, before the killing increased between the recitalists in other places⁽⁴¹⁾.

7. It is also important to know that those recitalists are the witnesses for the text written before the Prophet. If killing will increase in other places, then the authenticity of the text will decrease⁽⁴²⁾.
8. Finally, Dr. Draz says: "'Umar's aim was not only to reserve the written text from corruption or to be easy to refer to it, but also to setting up the final form for this holy Book and to authenticate it by those Companions who memorized it..."⁽⁴³⁾. This is another answer to this criticism.

We can simply say that these are reasonable explanations to 'Umar's words to Abu Bakr, and if we add them to the point concluded in chapter two, the matter becomes clearer.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Discussion of the Third Imputation

In the first chapter we tried to give some explanations to Dr. Jeffery's words regarding the arrangement of the Qur'an in the sense of talking about the text of the Qur'an, we said that he may conclude that it was the Companions role, and it is an essential point of writing the Qur'an, thus, it is a clear indication that the text was not written in complete, or there is no original text to refer to in this matter, this is clear from the other point he mentioned regarding the differences between the Companions' copies.

Generally speaking, we are concerned with these points to be put before everyone as an answer to this accusation:

1. Some Companions used to write special copies of the Qur'an for themselves, but not all of them have such special copies⁽⁴⁴⁾.

(41) See Zarzur, Madkhal, 113.

(42) See Shahin. 'Abd al-Sabur, Tarikh al-Qur'an, 102, Dar al-Qalam, 1966.

(43) Draz, Madkhal, 36.

(44) This is quite clear in all books talking about the Companions' copies, for instance, see Kitab al-Masahif, 50-73; al-Burhan, 1/242-3. See also Draz, Madkhal, 34-5.

CHAPTER THREE

The Discussion of the Second Imputation

In fact, 'Umar's words to Abu Bakr and then their worrying regarding the loss of something of the Qur'an as narrated in the account above, have been misunderstood by Dr. Jeffery and others, here again 'Umar's words to Abu Bakr: "Killing has increased among the recitalists, and I am afraid that it may increase in other places, then the Qur'an (or most of it) will be lost". Those words have been understood to be a criticism to the Qur'an, that if it is written then there will be no reason for this worrying, thus it is not written, this is Dr. Jeffery's opinion.

As we said above, we want to know the Muslim view regarding these words by 'Umar, and what is meant by them?

Here is our discussion to this criticism:

The account mentioned by al-Bukhari and others, which is quite known to Dr. Jeffery, is plain in declaring the writing of the Qur'an, but not the combination, therefore, there is a clear difference between both words. Here are some quotations from it:

- a. 'Umar said to Abu Bakr: "I think it is better to combine the Qur'an", but not to write it.
- b. What Abu Bakr said to Zayd: "You used to write the Qur'an for the Prophet".
- c. Abu Bakr's words to Zayd: "Follow the Qur'an and combine it".
- d. What Zayd himself said: "Then I followed the Qur'an to combine it from the Riq'a', Usub, Likhaf'....", these are materials for writing. Also the word (followed) here means that the Qur'an was separated, but written.
- e. What Zayd said: "And from Men's hearts" is a clear words to add memorization to writing, also it gives his manner in combining the text, that he regards it not sufficient to find some of the Qur'an written with one Companion, or that he memorized it, but both are required for this combination, in addition, he asked everyone who has some written text to bring two witnesses to witness that this was written from the Prophet's dictation. All these were discussed in the first chapter⁽³³⁾.
- f. Zayd's declaration that he did not find the end of chapter 9 with anyone but with Abu Khuzaymah,

this is very clear that he meant it to be written, because most of the Companions memorized it, at least he himself -Zayd- memorized it⁽³⁴⁾, the only thing he was searching for is to find it written⁽³⁵⁾. The same answer can also be said to what have been narrated that Zayd did not find verse 23 of Ch. 33 (*al-Ahzab*), then he found it with Khuzaymah al-Ansari, the Companion who was recommended by the Prophet when he made his witness as of two of other Companions, and said: "If Khuzaymah witnesses to any person then it is a complete witness"⁽³⁶⁾. And by the way, this does not mean that these verses are not successive (*mutawatir*) because they were written with one Companion only, indeed they are, because they are memorized in men's hearts, also no one of them opposed its being from the Qur'an⁽³⁷⁾.

- g. Also from the last point, Zayd made it clear when he said that this part of chapter 9 was found only with Abu Khuzaymah, this means that all the Qur'an except these two verses (9/128-9) were written with more than one Companion.

All these points, in addition to the others mentioned in chapter two regarding the accounts which indicate the writing of the Qur'an are plain evidences that the Qur'an was written during the Prophet's life, but separated, also it was memorized in the Companions' hearts. There is no doubt that memorizing the Qur'an was more widespread than writing, because most were unable to write, but their interest was in memorizing the text, little number were known as Kuttab al-Wahy, as we said in chapter two.

As regards 'Umar's worry concerning the loss of some of the Qur'an because of the killing between the recitalists, we can say the following:

1. We start with what Scholars have said regarding the Prophet's leaving of combining the Qur'an,

(34) See Fath al-Bari, 9/15, where Ibn Hajar discussed this point and mentioned some names of those Companions who memorized these verses.

(35) See al-Suyuti, Jalal al-Din, al-Itqan fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an, 1/101, Dar al-Ma'rifah, Beirut, s.d., where he related by Abu Shamah that Zayd means that he did not find it written with other persons.

(36) Fath al-Bari, 8/518-9, and 9/15.

(37) For more details see Fath al-Bari, 9/15; al-Salih, Subhi, Mabahith fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an, p. 76, Dar al-'Ilm li al-Malayin, Beirut, 18th ed., 1990; Zarzur, 'Adnan, Madkhal Ila Tafsir al-Qur'an wa 'Ulumih, p. 114, Dar al-Qalam, Damascus, 1st ed., 1995.

(33) See Fath al-Bari, 9/15.

came and ordered to write it again from this text⁽²⁵⁾.

It is worth mentioning that the most important names of those writers: The four Caliphs, Abu Sufyan and his sons: Mu'awiyah and Yazid, Sa'id bin al-'As and his sons: Aban and Khalid, Zayd bin Thabit, al-Zubayr bin al-'Awwam, Talhah bin 'Ubayd-Allah, Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas, 'Amir bin Fahirah, 'Abd Allah bin al-Arqam, 'Abd Allah bin Rawahah, 'Abd Allah bin Abi al-Sarh, Ubay bin Kaa'b, Thabit bin Qays, Hanzalah bin al-Rabi', Shurahbil bin Hasnah, al-'Ala' bin al-Hadrami, Khalid bin al-Walid, 'Amr bin al-'Ass, al-Mughirah bin Shu'bah, Hudhayfah bin al-Yamman and others⁽²⁶⁾.

3. Such accounts in which the Prophet advised his Companions to write the Qur'an and nothing else, and who ever wrote anything except the Qur'an he must delete it⁽²⁷⁾. This was to reserve the text from any other sayings, even the Prophet's ones. It is quite clear from these words that the Companions used to write the Revelation with the Prophet's supervision.
4. Such accounts which describe Abu Bakr's role, that he just combined the Qur'an, here is the famous account narrated by 'Ali bin Abi Talib in which he said: "May Allah mercy Abu Bakr, he is the first to combine between the two *lawhayn*-covers"⁽²⁸⁾.

we can say that the only account which we found to support Jeffery's opinion was mentioned in Tafsir al-Tabari, in the introduction, al-Tabari says:

"Said bin al-Rabi' told me that he said that Sufyan bin 'Uyaynah said: al-Zuhri said: The Prophet (P. B. U. H.) has passed away while the Qur'an was not collected, but in al-Karanif and

al-'Usub"⁽²⁹⁾. The editor adds that Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani continued the chain of this account to be by al-Zuhri by 'Ubayd by Zayd bin Thabit⁽³⁰⁾.

Let us regard this account as sound, it is quite clear that Dr. Jeffery has quoted one part of it to support his opinion and left the other which indicates obviously that the Qur'an was written but not combined. Thus, we can say that what Dr. Jeffery has done can be regarded as a corruption to this account which created a completely different meaning from what it originally indicates.

We, therefore, can reject Jeffery's claim of this point because of this break up of the account he did and because there is no other sound and clear account to support his opinion as he claims.

It is worth mentioning some general points regarding the orientalist's manners in dealing with the Prophet's Traditions:

- a. The audacity in criticising the Tradition then rejecting it if there is any point that contradicts their views or other traditions, while on the other hand we find Muslim Scholar who have a different style, they follow many points before thinking in rejecting the tradition, the most obvious one is to combine between the traditions⁽³¹⁾.
- b. They do not follow a clear manner in giving their judgement to the tradition that it is weak or sound.
- c. They understand the meaning of the tradition as they want even if others choose another meaning, for this purpose some of them may add few words to the tradition to support his view without referring to this.
- d. Some of them may claim that many traditions were added or claimed to be mentioned by the Prophet (*Mawdu*), in order to support a political view or to criticise another one⁽³²⁾.

(25) Fath al-Bari, 9/13.

(26) See al-Zinjani, 91-4; Fath al-Bari, 9/22; 'Isa, Ahmad 'Abd al-Rahman, Kuttab al-Wahy, 65-770, Dar al-Liwa', Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 2nd ed., 1982.

(27) See al-Naysaburi, Muslim bin al-Hajjaj, al-Jami' al-Sahih, 2298, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, s.d.; Musnad Ahmad, 3/12, 21, 39 and 56.

(28) See al-Tabari, Muhammad bin Jarir, al-Tafsir, ed. by: Ahmad and Mahmud Muhammad Shakir, 1/230, Dar al-Ma'arif, Cairo, 1969; 'Abd Allah bin Ahmad bin Hanbal, Fada'il al-Sahabah, ed. by Wasiyy Allah bin Muhammad 'Abbas, 1/230, he also relates another similar account which is: 'Ali said: "The most rewarded in the Qur'an is abu Bakr al-Siddiq, he was the first to combine the Qur'an between the two *lawhayn*", 1/354. See also Abu 'Ubayd, Fada'il, 280-1 and 284.

(29) Al-Tabari, 1/63.

(30) See Fath al-Bari, 9/12. This means that al-Tabari's account is (Mursal), which means that it is weak, but Ibn Hajar continued the chain without commenting if it is sound or not, even the editor of al-Tabari did not comment on this chain.

(31) For more details see Khalaf, Najm 'Abd al-Rahman, Naqd al-Matn Bayna Sina'at al-Muhaddithin wa Mata'in al-Mustashriqin, Maktabat al-Rushd, Riyadh, 1st ed., 1989.

(32) For more details see Abu Shahbah, Muhammad, Difa' 'an al-Sunnah, Maktabat al-Sunnah, Cairo, 1st ed., 1989, 294, 297, 309, 318, 320, 321.

Zayd and Abu Bakr), after that Zayd said: I swear that if they ordered me to remove a mountain from its position it will be easier for me than this task of combining the Qur'an, then I combined the Qur'an from the '*Usub, Riqa*', *Suhuf* (the materials where the Qur'an was written)⁽¹⁶⁾ and men's hearts, till I found the end of Bara'ah - chapter 9 - with Abu Khuzaymah al-Ansari, I did not find it with any other person, the sheets remained with Abu Bakr till he died, then with 'Umar till he died, then with Hafsa, 'Umar's daughter'⁽¹⁷⁾.

2. Such accounts talking about those known as Kuttab al-Wahy (The writers of the Revelation), if we say that nothing of the Qur'an was written, then what was their role!? Here are some of these accounts:

- a. Ibn 'Abbas relates that 'Uthman said: "When one chapter of the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet he used to ask some of the writers and ordered them: "Put this chapter in the place where this matter or that is mentioned"⁽¹⁸⁾.
- b. Al-Bara' bin 'Azib relates: "When the verse (Not equal are those believers who sit (at

home) and receive no hurt, and those who strive and fight in the cause of God...) 4/95 was revealed the Prophet said: tell Zayd to come and bring the board, ink and the bone, then he said to him: write down: (Not equal are those...), the verse"⁽¹⁹⁾.

- c. Hisham bin 'Urwah related that Abu Bakr al-Siddiq ordered 'Umar bin al-Khattab and Zayd bin Thabit - during their task of combining the Qur'an - to wait in the mosque entrance, and to bring with you two witnesses of everything of the Qur'an then write it down"⁽²⁰⁾. Ibn Hajar comments: "It seems that the two witnesses were utilized for the memorizing and writing, or to witness that this was written before the Prophet, or to witness that this is from the aspects of revelation of which the Qur'an was revealed"⁽²¹⁾. Also al-Sakhawi comments: "It seems that they witness that this material of the Qur'an was written before the Prophet". Also Abu Shamah comments: "Their aim was to write down again nothing but what was written before the Prophet and not from that memory"⁽²²⁾.

(16) Those names and others were mentioned in different accounts, we may give there meanings: 'usub; jarid al-nakhl, which means the palm-branches; riqa', which means leather or paper; suhuf, which means sheets. There are other names mentioned in other accounts such as likhaf, which means flat stones; aktaf, which is the camel's bones. To know more about these names see in sequence: Ibn Manzur, Jamal al-Din Muhammad bin Makram, Lisan al-'Arab, 1/599, 8/131-2, 9/186, 9/315, 9/294, Dar Sadir, Beirut, s.d. See also Fath al-Bari, 9/14.

(17) al-Bukhari, Muhammad bin Isma'il, al-Jami' al-Sahih (Sahih al-Bukhari), printed with Fath al-Bari, the accounts No. 4986, 4679. See also al-Tirmidhi, Abu 'Isa Muhammad bin 'Isa, al-Jami' al-Sahih, printed with Tuhfat al-Ahwadhi Sharh Jami' al-Tirmidhi by al-Mubarakfuri, 8/511-6, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, s.d.; al-Nasa'i, Ahmad bin Shu'ayb, Fada'il al-Sahabah, ed. by Faruq Hamadah, p. 55, Dar al-Thaqafah, Casablanca, 1st ed., 1984; al-Nasa'i, Fada'il al-Qur'an, ed. by Faruq Hamadah, p. 63 and 68, Dar al-Thaqafah, Casablanca, 1st ed., 1980; Ahmad bin Hanbal, al-Musnad, 1/10, 5/188-9, al-Maktab al-Islami, Beirut, 4th ed., 1983. It is quite strange that Bell commented on this Tradition: "This report is probably not authentic", see Introduction to The Qur'an, p. 32.

(18) See al-Tirmidhi, 8/477-9; Abu Dawud, Sulayman bin al-Ash'ath, al-Sunan, ed. by Muhammad M. 'Abd al-Hamid, Tradition No. (786), 2/208-9, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, s.d. See also Fath al-Bari, 9/22, where Ibn Hajar comments that it is a sound account; Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim bin Sallam, Fada'il al-Qur'an, ed. by Marwan 'Atiyyah and others, pp. 280 and 286, Dar Ibn Kathir, Damascus, 1st ed., 1995.

And here are some other sayings of Muslim Scholars regarding the writing of the Qur'an:

- Mohammad bin Ishaq said: "The Qur'an was written between the Prophet's hands, in al-Likhaf, al-'Usub, and camel's shoulders bones"⁽²³⁾.
- Al-Harith al-Muhasabi said: "The writing of the Qur'an was not an innovation, rather, the Prophet used to order his Companions to write it down but it was in separate pieces in al-riqa', aktaf, 'usub and qirtas"⁽²⁴⁾.
- Ibn Hajar said: "The Qur'an was written in *suhuf* but it was separated, and Abu Bakr combined it in one place, it was reserved after him till 'Uthman

(19) See al-Bukhari, al-Sahih, with Fath al-Bari, 9/22.

(20) Al-Masahif, p. 6.

(21) Fath al-Bari, 9/14-5.

(22) See al-Jaza'iri al-Dimashqi, Tahir, al-Tibyan li Ba'd al-Mabahith al-Muta'alliqah bi al-Qur'an 'Ala Tariq al-Itqan, ed. by 'Abd al-Fattah Abu Ghuddah, p. 100, Maktabat al-Matbu'at al-Islamiyyah, Aleppo, 3rd ed., 1992. See also al-Sabbagh, Lamahat fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an, p. 71, al-Maktab al-Islami, Beirut, 1973.

(23) See al-Zinjani, Abu "Abd Allah, Tarikh al-Qur'an, ed. by Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahim, 97-8, Dar al-Hikmah, Damascus, 1st ed., 1990.

(24) Op. Cit., 99.

caused him to rewrite the Qur'an. This was mentioned by Dr. Bell⁽¹²⁾.

5. The combination during Abu Bakr's reign was not complete, because of what Zayd has said that some pieces were not found but with some Companions, or because what some Companions have said that they did not find certain verses recited by the Prophet but not recorded in the Mushaf. This was mentioned by Burton and Bell⁽¹³⁾.

Before starting our discussion to these innuendoes, we may draw attention to some previous studies but in other matters:

- a. *Tarikh al-Qur'an bayna Tasahul al-Muslimin wa Shubuh al-Mustashriqin*, by Isma'il al-Tahhan, in which the author discussed orientalists' views in general.
- b. *Tarikh al-Qur'an* by 'Abd al-Sabur Shahin, in which he concentrates on those critics directed to the Qur'an in general and particularly on the history of the Qur'an.
- c. *Qadaya Qur'aniyyah fi al-Mawsu'ah al-Baritaniyyah (Naqd Mata'in wa Rad Shubuhat)*, by Fadi Hasan 'Abbas, in which he translates the title of Qur'an in Britannica and then he discussed the views mentioned in it.
- d. *Al-Madkhal li Dirasat al-Qur'an al-Karim*, by Muhammad Abu Shahbah, this book mainly discussed some Qur'anic sciences, through his discussion the author refuses the orientalists' views concerning the Qur'an.
- e. *Mabahith fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an* by Subhi al-Salih, in which he discussed Qur'anic sciences, but he concentrates on orientalists' accusations on the Qur'an.

CHAPTER TWO

The Discussion of the First Imputation

As stated in the first chapter, the important thing we want to know here is: Is there any account found in Muslim references or not? And if positive, are they sound or not? Then if they are sound, what are their real meanings?

After searching in the most official references of Tradition, and in other books of the explanation of the Qur'an or the historical books, we can say that we did not find any direct and sound account

attributed to the Prophet in which he mentioned such words similar to what Dr. Jeffery has said, rather, the accounts we found indicate the writing of the Qur'an. The accounts we found can be classified as follows:

1. Such accounts talking about the original story of combining the Qur'an from separate sheets into one book, this is what happened during Abu Bakr's rule, and this includes a detailed description of Zayd's task.

Those accounts are sound and mentioned by most of Tradition books including the books of al-Bukhari, Muslim, Al-Nasa'i, Abu Dawud, Al-Tirmidhi, Ibn Majah, Al-Darimi, Muwatta' Malik, Musnad Ahmad, Ibn Hibban..., and Ibn Abu Dawud himself in his *al-Masahif*⁽¹⁴⁾.

Here is the most famous account that the Scholars agreed upon, which we also need in order to refuse the second imputation:

"Zayd bin Thabit relates that Abu Bakr sent to him to come to him during the battle of Yamamah⁽¹⁵⁾, 'Umar was there, he (Abu Bakr) said that 'Umar told him that killing has increased among the recitists, and he is afraid that it will increase in other places, then the Qur'an (or most of it) will be lost, thus I suggest to combine it. Abu Bakr said: But how can you do something the Prophet never did!? Then 'Umar said that it is really a good thing, he insisted on his idea till God opened my heart to it as 'Umar's, and it is now my opinion. Then Abu Bakr said: You are (Zayd) a young, intellectual and we have no doubt in you, also you used to write the Qur'an before the Prophet, so I am asking you to combine it, (the same discussion occurred between

(14) See pages 5-10.

(15) A battle between Muslims under the leadership of Khalid bin al-Walid, and the Apostates under the leadership of Musaylamah al-Kadhdhab in 12 A.H., different accounts were related regarding the number of Muslims killed in the battle, for more details see Ibn Kathir, Isma'il, al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah, 6/323-4, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, s.d.; Ibn Kathir, Isma'il, Fada'il al-Qur'an, ed. by Abu Ishaq al-Juwayni, p. 58, Maktabat Ibn Taymiyyah, 1st ed., 1996; al-'Asqalani, Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, 9/12, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, s.d.; al-Kirmani, Shams al-Din Muhammad bin Yusuf, sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, 19/6, al-Matba'ah al-Bahiyyah al-Misriyyah, Cairo, 1st ed., 1937; al-Qastalani, Ahmad bin Muhammad, Irshad al-Sari li Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, 7/446, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, s.d.; al-'Ayni, Badr al-Din Mahmud bin Ahmad, 'Umdat al-Qari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, 20/16, al-Matba'ah al-Muniriyyah, Cairo, s.d.

(12) See Bell, 41.

(13) See Burton, 121-6; Bell, 42.

this matter, and therefore, this is what he insisted later to say that every Companion used to collect what he can, thus, it is a private copy, as for the text combined by Zayd, it is also a private one. All these copies have differences from each other...(5).

This is what he mentioned in his Arabic introduction to this Book, but in his Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an, he gives more details; after mentioning the Muslim theory of the text, he says:

"Very little examination is needed to reveal the fact that this account is largely fictitious. Nothing is more certain than that when the Prophet died there was no collected, arranged, collated body of revelation. Recent research by Dr. Bell of Edinburgh and Prof. Torrey of Yale has suggested that there is internal evidence in the Qur'an itself that the Prophet kept in his own care a considerable mass of revelation material belonging to various periods of his activity, some of it in revised and some of it in not revised form, and that this material was to form the basis of the *Kitab* he wished to give his community before he died. Death, however, overtook him before anything was done about the matter. If this is so, we are at a loss to know what became of this material, which obviously would have been the community's most precious legacy. The earliest start of tradition available to us makes it quite certain that there was no Qur'an left ready as a heritage for the community. The Prophet had proclaimed his message orally, and, except in the latter period of his ministry, whether they were recorded or not was often a matter of chance. Some pieces of revelation material seem to have been used liturgical and so probably would have been written. Some pieces he himself caused to be written down in permanent form as they were of a definite legislative character. Besides these there were numerous portions, generally small pieces, though sometimes pieces of considerable extent, either memorized or written down on scraps of writing material that happened to be handy..."(6).

It is obvious that Dr. Jeffery transmits roughly

Noldeke's opinion which we will mention later. However, we are before an accusation which says that for one reason or another, some of the Qur'an was not written down during the Prophet's life, the points mentioned above represent such accusation(7).

Finally, it is worth mentioning other important accusations adopted by certain orientalists, we want to discuss them in brief, because they are mostly similar to the main allegation:

1. Some of the Qur'an was not written during the Prophet's life, and some may have been lost, this is according to the verse of abrogation(8), which indicates that the Prophet may forget some of the revelation. This is what Noldeke roughly has said(9), which is similar to the one quoted above by Jeffery, but with a different background.
2. There is a different style founded in certain chapters of the Qur'an, this means that the Qur'an was not written during the Prophet's life, but by the Companions; this was also mentioned by Noldeke(10).
3. According to the different accounts which describe who is the first to combine the Qur'an, many names were given, and therefore, it is a matter of contradiction which lead to have doubt about all the stories concerning the combination of the Qur'an. This was mentioned by Dr. Bell and Prof. John Burton(11).
4. The Qur'an which was combined during Abu Bakr's reign was not an official copy, this is because of the differences in reciting the Qur'an, which occurred during 'Uthman's rule, which

(7) It is worth mentioning that there are more accusations mentioned by Jeffery regarding the Qur'an in general, especially during 'Uthman's reign. We concentrate only on the specific matter of writing the text during the Prophet's life. We may add that Muhammad 'Abd Allah Draz has discussed the other accusations in his *Madkhal 'Ila al-Qur'an al-Karim*, translated by Muhammad 'Abd al-'Azim Ali, Dar al-Qalam, Kuwait, 1984, 44-51.

(8) Verse No. 106 of al-Baqarah.

(9) See Theodor Noldeke, (*Geschichte des Qorans*), ed. by Friedrich Schwally, 2/1-5, Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2nd ed., 1919. We can also add Helmut Gätje to have the same point of view. See the Qur'an and its Exegesis, Selected Texts, 24, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London and Henley, 1971.

(10) Op. Cit., 5. See also the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, by a number of leading orientalists, 5/404-7, Leiden- London, 2nd ed., 1971.

(11) See Bell, Introduction, 41; Burton, John. *The Collection of the Qur'an*, 121-5, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1st ed., 1977., See also *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 5/405.

(5) Op. Cit., 5-6. See also Wansbrough, John, *Qur'anic Studies*, 44, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977, where he roughly say the same words.

(6) Jeffery, Arthur, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an*, 4-6, Leiden, The Netherlands, 1937. See also Bell, 37-8, where he mentions similar words to these quoted above.

- b. Their interpretation of 'Umar's words.
 - c. The problem of the Qur'anic arrangement.
 - d. Other reproaches of this matter.
2. The discussion of the first imputation.
 3. The discussion of the second imputation.
 4. The discussion of the third imputation.
 5. The discussion of the other imputations.
 6. Conclusions.

CHAPTER ONE

Jeffery's Innuendoes Regarding the Collection of the Qur'an

Despite the sacredness and importance of the holy Qur'an in Muslims' minds, and despite the fact mentioned in the Qur'an that "We have, without doubt, sent down the Message; and We will assuredly guard it (from corruption)", 15/9, we are before some accusations raised by some orientalists regarding the text of the Qur'an. We cannot neglect that some of these allegations have their references from Muslims themselves, but surely they have complete different concepts, as we will see in the next chapters.

Among the most frank and clear accusations which represent the opinions held in some orientalists' minds are those of Jeffery in his introduction to *Kitab al-Masahif*, by Ibn Abi Dawud al-Sijistani.

As stated above, the most important accusation regarding the text of the Qur'an is that it was not written during the Prophet's life, rather it was written and collected during the reign of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq.

The first important point they mentioned to support their opinion is that there are some accounts mentioned in Muslim references which indicate that the Prophet died before the collection of the text. Under the title: "When the Prophet died there was not any book in the hands of his followers", and after mentioning Muslim Scholars' opinion that the Prophet used to order his Companions to write everything revealed to him, also he used to present every year what has been revealed to him by Gabriel once and twice in the year he died in, whereby the Qur'an was collected in whole during the Prophet's life on papers and was arranged as it is in present time in both chapters and verses. The only

difference is that, at that time it was on separate sheets while after that it became in one book, then Jeffery stated: "This opinion was rejected by orientalists, because it contradicts with what has been mentioned in other accounts that the Prophet died while the Qur'an was not collected"⁽¹⁾.

It is important to say that, Dr. Jeffery did not mention any of these accounts, in his introduction, nor did the author of *al-Masahif*. We therefore must search if there is any account mentioned in any reference which may be considered as evidence for those Scholars' accusations or not.

The second point is the discussion between 'Umar bin al-Khattab and Abu Bakr al-Siddiq when the battle with the turncoats (*Murtaddin*) caused the killing of many of the reciters who usually memorize the Qur'an. After the words we quoted above Dr. Jeffery said: "This matter is compatible with what was related regarding the worrying of 'Umar and Abu Bakr. When the killing increased between reciters during the battle of Yamamah, they said that killing has increased among the reciters of the Qur'an and we are afraid if it increases in all places, then most of the Qur'an will be lost, by this we conclude that the reason behind this worrying was the killing of the reciters who memorized all the Qur'an, thus, if the Qur'an were really collected and written, then there were no reason for their worrying"⁽²⁾. This point will lead to have doubt concerning the originality, righteousness and legibility of the text of the Qur'an. We can add Dr. Bell to have the same opinion as Dr. Jeffery⁽³⁾.

The third point is the problem of the arrangement of the suras of the Qur'an and the differences in the Companions' copies of the Qur'an, Dr. Jeffery says: "... Furthermore, Western scholars do not agree that the arrangement of the text of the Qur'an as it is now in our hands was done by the Prophet"⁽⁴⁾, he may conclude that it was the Companions' role, and it is an essential point of writing the Qur'an, thus, it is a clear indication that the text was not written in complete, or there is no original text to refer to in

(1) Arthur Jeffery, ed. of *Kitab al-Masahif* by al-Sijistani, Ibn Abu Dawud, the Introduction, 5, al-Matba'ah al-Rahmaniyyah, Cairo, 1st ed., 1936.

(2) Op. Cit., 5.

(3) See Bell, Ritchard, Introduction to the Qur'an, ed. by William M. Watt, 41, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, U. K., 3rd ed., 1991.

(4) *Kitab al-Masahif*, 5.

Jeffery's Views Regarding the Collection of the Qur'an

(A Critical Study)

Mohammad Kh. Al-Majali, and Ahmad Kh. Shukri*

ABSTRACT

Some orientalists adopt the view that the text of the Qur'an was not written during the Prophet's life, this is according to some accounts which support this view; 'Umar's words to Abu Bakr that he is worried about the Qur'an, thus, there is no need for worry if the text is really written, and according to the idea that the arrangement of the Qur'an wasn't the doing of the Prophet but of the Companions, which indicates that there was no written text.

In this research, we have discussed these accusations and others, and concluded that there is no account to support this opinion. All accounts support that it was written, also there are other explanations to 'Umar's words, we can simply say that those recitalists may have some of the text, or they are the witnesses of this text, or that 'Umar desired that by this work, the text will be saved from any corruption. The account itself which mentions 'Umar's words ended by Zayd's task towards the collection of the text, which indicates that the text was indeed written. As for the Qur'anic arrangement, the fact is, in many accounts, that it was indicated that the Prophet supervised these arrangements.

INTRODUCTION

In his edition to *Kitab al-Masahif* by Ibn Abi Dawud al-Sijistani, Dr. Arthur Jeffery demonstrated some points about what orientalists have reached concerning the history of the text of the Qur'an, particularly the matter of the collection of the Qur'an. Dr. Jeffery declared that the text was not written during the Prophet's life, there are some evidences to support his opinion, they are:

1. The accounts which indicate the writelessness of the text of the Qur'an or at least some of it.
2. 'Umar's words to Abu Bakr which indicate that they were worried about the text because of the death of the recitalists.
3. The idea that the arrangement of the Qur'an was

not the doing of the Prophet.

In fact, Jeffery was not the first to declare this, he himself mentioned that some orientalists adopted this view, among them are Noldeke, Schwally, Bergstrasser and Pretzl. In addition to these names, I found that many other orientalists hold the same opinion, such as Ritchard Bell, William Montgomery, Watt and John Burton. We can simply say that these points mentioned by Jeffery represent the main accusations regarding the history of the text of the Qur'an. Other points are to be presented and discussed in this research. Our final aim will be to see whether these allegations are true or that there are other views concerning them.

METHODOLOGY

According to the introduction, we can say that there are three basic points for the opinion adopted by Dr. Jeffery and other scholars. Generally speaking, the accusations based on certain accounts (if they exist) will be discussed carefully according to the Traditionalists' bases in order to see whether they are sound or not, and if they are sound, what are their exact meanings. Those accounts will be compared with others to give the clear opinion on this matter. As for 'Umar's words, they must be compared with other different accounts regarding the collection of the text, also with the words at the end of the same account, where more details can give the exact concept adopted by Muslim Scholars. With regard to the arrangement problem, we will mention the exact opinion according to historical studies. Finally, the discussion will depend on both reasoning and relation. For that purpose, the research will be divided into the following:

1. The critics raised by Jeffery and others regarding the collection of the text of the Qur'an, this includes:
 - a. The accounts which they depend in the support of their views.

* Assistant Professors, Department of the Foundations of Religion, Faculty of Shari'ah, University of Jordan. Received on 11/11/1996 and Accepted for Publication on 30/3/1997.